

a stress area where American soldiers were trying to help those in need?

Twenty percent of those who have fought, who have been on the front lines, whether in Iraq or Afghanistan, have posttraumatic stress disorder. Most are misdiagnosed, most are undiagnosed, and the stigma is slowly peeling away. They need our help. Their families need our help.

So not only did we go into a war unprepared, but we did little for those who put their lives on the front line while we, supposedly gray men, decided where they would go and when they would return and how many times they would return to the battlefield. We are fools, to say the least.

We need to think about what's going on. These brave men and women have taken the entire burden while we act as if nothing happens. These senseless deaths will not be forgotten.

I ask all of us to vote for this legislation and remember their families

God bless America. Thank you.

Mr. MCMAHON. Madam Speaker, the tragic events that occurred at Camp Liberty in Iraq are a sad and prominent reminder that the mental health needs of our service men and women are simply not being met.

I have co-sponsored H. Res. 471 not only to express my sympathy, but because I know that such a tragedy could have been avoided.

A month ago, 46 of my colleagues in the House and I sent a letter to Chairman MURTHA and Ranking Member YOUNG of the defense appropriations subcommittee, supporting Secretary Gates' recommendations to increase mental health funding in the FY10 DOD budget by \$300 million.

I hold fast to this request and hope that this increase will contribute to an increase in mental health professionals to treat the invisible wounds of our men and women in uniform.

Mental Health screenings should be confidential, mandatory and comfortable for those who have witnessed the unimaginable on the battlefield. H.R. 1308, The Veterans Mental Health Screenings and Assessments Act, which I have introduced with my colleague, Congressman TOM ROONEY aims to do just this by eliminating the stigma of mental treatment through mandating screenings for all returning service men and women.

Again, my heart goes out to the families of the victims of the Camp Liberty shootings. We, in the Congress, must act to ensure that such a tragedy does not happen again.

Through granting Secretary Gates' request and enacting H.R. 1308, we will ensure that the victims of the awful Camp Liberty tragedy will not be forgotten and hopefully, prevent such catastrophes from occurring in the future.

Ms. FALLIN. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. KRATOVIL. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. KRATOVIL) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 471, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. KRATOVIL. Madam Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

## RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

□ 1707

## AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Ms. RICHARDSON) at 5 o'clock and 7 minutes p.m.

## COMMEMORATING 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TIANANMEN SQUARE SUPPRESSION

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 489) recognizing the twentieth anniversary of the suppression of protesters and citizens in and around Tiananmen Square in Beijing, People's Republic of China, on June 3 and 4, 1989 and expressing sympathy to the families of those killed, tortured, and imprisoned in connection with the democracy protests in Tiananmen Square and other parts of China on June 3 and 4, 1989 and thereafter.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

### H. RES. 489

Whereas freedom of expression and assembly are fundamental human rights that belong to all people, and are recognized as such under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

Whereas June 4th, 2009, marks the 20th anniversary of the day in 1989 when the People's Liberation Army and other security forces finished carrying out the orders of Chinese leaders to use lethal force to disperse demonstrators in and around Beijing's Tiananmen Square;

Whereas the death on April 15, 1989, of Hu Yaobang, former General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, was followed by peaceful protests calling for the elimination of corruption, acceleration of economic and political reforms, especially freedom of expression and freedom of assembly; and calling for a dialogue between protesters and Chinese authorities on these issues;

Whereas by early May 1989, citizens advocating publicly for democratic reform across China included not only students, but also government employees, journalists, workers,

police, members of the armed forces and other citizens;

Whereas on May 20, 1989, martial law was declared in Beijing after authorities had failed to persuade demonstrators to leave Tiananmen Square;

Whereas during the late afternoon and early evening hours of June 3, 1989, ten- to fifteen thousand helmeted, armed troops carrying automatic weapons and traveling in large truck convoys moved into Beijing to "clear the Square" and surrounding streets of demonstrators;

Whereas on the night of June 3 and continuing into the morning of June 4, 1989, soldiers in armored columns of tanks outside of Tiananmen Square fired directly at citizens and indiscriminately into crowds, inflicting high civilian casualties, killing or injuring unarmed civilians who reportedly ranged in age from 9 years old to 61 years old; and whereas tanks crushed some protesters and onlookers to death;

Whereas after 20 years, the exact number of dead and wounded remains unclear; credible sources believe that a number much larger than that officially reported actually died in Beijing during the period of military control; credible sources estimate the wounded numbered at least in the hundreds; detentions at the time were in the thousands, and some political prisoners who were sentenced in connection with the events surrounding June 4, 1989, still languish in Chinese prisons;

Whereas there are Chinese citizens still imprisoned for "counter-revolutionary" offenses allegedly committed during the 1989 demonstrations, even though, according to the 1997 revision of China's Criminal Law, the "offenses" for which they were convicted are no longer crimes;

Whereas the Tiananmen Mothers is a group of relatives and friends of those killed in June 1989 whose demands include the right to mourn victims publicly, to call for a full and public accounting of the wounded and dead, and the release of those who remain imprisoned for participating in the 1989 protests;

Whereas members of the Tiananmen Mothers group have faced arrest, harassment and discrimination; the group's Web site is blocked in China; and international cash donations made to the group to support families of victims reportedly have been frozen by Chinese authorities;

Whereas Chinese authorities censor information that does not conform to the official version of events surrounding the Tiananmen crackdown, and limits or prohibits information about the Tiananmen crackdown from appearing in textbooks in China;

Whereas Chinese authorities continue to suppress peaceful dissent by harassing, detaining, or imprisoning advocates for democratic processes, journalists, advocates for worker rights, religious believers, and other individuals in China, including in Xinjiang and in Tibet, who seek to express their political dissent, ethnic identity, or religious views peacefully and freely; and

Whereas Chinese authorities continue to harass and detain advocates for democratic processes, such as Mr. Liu Xiaobo, a Tiananmen Square protester, prominent intellectual, dissident writer, and more recently a signer of Charter 08 (a call for peaceful political reform and respect for the rule of law published on-line in December 2008 by over 300 citizens, and subsequently endorsed by thousands more), who remains under house arrest; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

(1) expresses sympathy to the families of those killed, tortured, and imprisoned as a

result of their participation in the democracy protests in Tiananmen Square and elsewhere in China on June 3 and 4, 1989, and thereafter, and to all those persons who have suffered for their peaceful efforts to keep that struggle alive during the last two decades;

(2) calls on the People's Republic of China to invite full and independent investigations into the Tiananmen Square crackdown, assisted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the International Committee of the Red Cross;

(3) calls on the legal authorities of People's Republic of China to review immediately the cases of those still imprisoned for participating in the 1989 protests for compliance with internationally recognized standards of fairness and due process in judicial proceedings, and to release those individuals imprisoned solely for peacefully exercising their internationally-recognized rights;

(4) calls on the People's Republic of China to end its harassment and detention of and its discrimination against those who were involved in the 1989 protests not only in Beijing, but in other parts of China where protests took place, and to end its harassment and detention of those who continue to advocate peacefully for political reform such as Mr. Liu Xiaobo, a signer of Charter 08 who remains under house arrest, and his wife, Liu Xia;

(5) calls on the People's Republic of China to allow protest participants who escaped to or are living in exile in the United States and other countries, or who reside outside of China because they have been "blacklisted" in China as a result of their peaceful protest activity, to return to China without risk of retribution or repercussion; and

(6) calls on the Administration and Members of the Congress to mark the 20th Anniversary of the events at Tiananmen Square appropriately and effectively by taking steps that includes—

(A) meeting whenever and wherever possible with participants in the demonstrations who are living in the United States;

(B) meeting with others outside of China who have been "blacklisted" in China as a result of their peaceful protest activities;

(C) signaling support for those in China who demand an accounting of the events surrounding June 4th, 1989; and

(D) expressing support for those advocating for accountable and democratic governance in China.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the resolution under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. I now yield myself as much time as I may consume.

This resolution recognizes the 20th anniversary of the suppression of Chinese protesters and citizens in Tiananmen Square. Freedom of expres-

sion and freedom of assembly are fundamental human rights that belong to all people and are recognized as such under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In the last 20 years since Tiananmen Square, the significance of the U.S.-China relationship has grown dramatically on a variety of foreign policy issues and on our economic relationships. In pursuing these relations successfully, a key challenge has been to find the right combination of pursuit of basic American values. That was a challenge in consideration of trade relations with China in its accession to the WTO. There was incorporated in the legislation before Congress in 2000 the creation of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China to pursue issues relating to human rights, including labor rights and the rule of law. The commission has actively engaged on these issues and has issued a comprehensive report every year since its inception.

When peaceful protesters gathered in Beijing's Tiananmen Square and in over 100 other Chinese cities, it represented a burst of freedom. They called for the elimination of corruption and the acceleration of economic and political reforms, especially freedom of expression and freedom of assembly. These protesters included not only students but also government employees, journalists, workers, police and members of China's armed forces. People peacefully filled the square until thousands of armed forces moved in, surrounding the demonstrators. On June 4, 1989, soldiers fired directly into the crowds outside of Tiananmen Square, killing and injuring unarmed civilians. The exact number of the dead and wounded remains unknown. The wounded are estimated to have numbered at least in the hundreds. Detentions at the time were in the thousands. Some political prisoners still languish in Chinese prisons.

We today express our sympathy to the relatives and friends of those killed and injured on that day, and we stand with them as we honor the memory of those whose lives were lost and those who continue to suffer today. Let us be absolutely clear: this resolution asks nothing of China that is inconsistent with commitments to international standards to which China, in principle, has already agreed. We ask of China's leaders full and independent investigations into the Tiananmen Square crackdown with a full commitment to openness, and we call on Chinese authorities to release those individuals imprisoned solely for peacefully exercising their internationally recognized rights. We call on Chinese authorities to end the harassment and detention of those who were involved in the 1989 protests and to end the harassment and detention of those who continue to advocate peacefully for political reform.

I encourage my colleagues to support those in China who demand an ac-

counting of the events of June 4, 1989, and to express support for those advocating for accountable and democratic governance in China.

In closing, let me note that two decades ago, the Chinese people stood up at Tiananmen, but China's leaders ordered them to stand down. Many defied that order, choosing instead to remain faithful to their aspirations. The world took note, and we today preserve that memory for history.

I reserve the balance of my time.

The Chairman of the committee will take over the remainder of the time. I salute him, if I might, for his work and that of the ranking member on the committee and all of those who joined in supporting this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from California will control the remainder of the time.

There was no objection.

□ 1715

Mr. POE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I rise in very strong support of this resolution "recognizing the 20th anniversary of the suppression of protesters and citizens in and around Tiananmen Square in Beijing, People's Republic of China, on June 3 and 4, 1989." The words "Tiananmen" mean "Gate of Heavenly Peace." Sadly, however, the events of that dark night 20 years ago were anything but heavenly or peaceful.

It was during that dark night that the hopes of a generation for a new and democratic China were cruelly smashed along with the papier-mache and wire statue of the Goddess of Democracy, built with youthful idealism by art students in Tiananmen Square. It was during that dark night that a single, brave figure in the picture seen around the world stood in silent defiance of army tanks as they rolled toward the square.

It was during that dark night that the people of China watched in horror as their own so-called "People's Army" turned assault weapons and bayonets on their own people, who reportedly ranged in age from 9 years old to 61 years old, all of whom were participating in a peaceful demonstration.

It was during that dark night that the blood of student martyrs stained a square where a previous generation of students had petitioned the rulers of China for democracy during the May 4 movement in 1919.

It was during that dark night that the pain began for the Tiananmen Mothers who, through two decades of harassment and intimidation, have displayed the courage to keep their dead children's hopes alive and their dreams alive of liberty.

It would be easy to forget that night of the long knives. It would be easy to look at the glittering business towers rising above an increasingly prosperous China and say that is in the past and

that it is over. That would be the easy thing to do, Madam Speaker. But that would not be the right thing to do.

A rising China is increasingly taking its place on the international stage. But it is a rising China that has no moral compass. That compass was lost in that dark night in Tiananmen Square when they murdered their own people, mostly students.

Now, two decades later, a time for truth and a time for truth telling is overdue. That is why this resolution calls on the Chinese authorities to invite full and independent investigations into the Tiananmen Square crackdown, assisted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

A famous saying goes that "Those who forget their past are destined to repeat it." Neither China nor the world could stand a repeat of that horrific tragedy of the Tiananmen Square Massacre.

It is time to honor the dead, express profound sympathy to the surviving family members, and to seek a full and honest accounting of the shocking events that occurred two decades ago this week before that gate which is meant to symbolize heavenly peace.

I urge my colleagues to strongly support this resolution, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I'm very honored to yield 1 minute to the Speaker of the House. For those of us who were in this Chamber at the time of the Tiananmen Square movement 20 years ago, we all remember that there was no one more passionate or eloquent on the aspirations of those students and more outraged by the dashing of those aspirations, whether the people at the square or of the Chinese people generally or the thousands of Chinese students who were studying in the United States at that time and watching that happen, than Leader PELOSI.

I am pleased to yield 1 minute to the Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

And I thank him and SANDER LEVIN and Congresswoman ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN for bringing this legislation to the floor. I associate myself with the comments of Mr. POE and my friend, Mr. WOLF. We have been working on this issue for a very long time in our task force on China ever since I think even before Tiananmen.

Human rights in China is a very, very important issue. China is a very important country. The relationship between our two countries is very important economically, security-wise, culturally, and in every way. But the size of the economy, the size of the country, and the size of the relationship doesn't mean that we shouldn't speak out. I have said that if we don't speak out about our concerns regarding human rights in China and Tibet, then we lose all moral authority to discuss

it about any other country in the world.

Today we come together to support a resolution on the floor of the House of Representatives recognizing that 20th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre. Again, I thank my colleagues for bringing this legislation to the floor.

Twenty years ago, a generation ago, thousands, millions of Chinese students, workers, and citizens assembled in Tiananmen Square and all of the streets leading to it and from it to bravely speak out. It was about promoting more freedom in China in terms of accountability of the government in ending corruption. It was about, again, more transparency and the ability to speak and to assemble. It was about the aspirations of people in a country that they love and their desire to have dialogue with their leaders on the future of China.

It will be forever seared in our memory what happened next. The People's Liberation Army, the People's Army was used against the people, crushing demonstrators in Tiananmen Square and crushing dissent throughout China. And so again, Tiananmen Square is the place where many people assembled, but the demonstrations were beyond that and well into Beijing and across the country.

We remember, again, one of the most enduring images which actually happened after the crush, after the order was given to clear Tiananmen Square by such and such a time on June 4. A day or two later, a brave man stood before the tank. One of the most enduring images of the 20th century will forever be seared again in the conscience of the world, the picture of the lone man standing before the tank in the street bringing a line of tanks to a halt. When the tanks moved, he moved. He even climbed on the tank to communicate to the person in charge of the tank that Beijing was their city and they did not want tanks overtaking it. Today that spirit of Tiananmen lives in the hearts and minds of those continuing to work for freedom in China and beyond. The heroes had the courage to speak out for freedom.

There will be other observances of the Berlin Wall coming down throughout Europe in the next weeks and months. And actually, while the Chinese students, workers, and demonstrators used the Goddess of Democracy as the symbol in Tiananmen Square, inspired by our Founders, they, in turn, inspired others throughout Europe and the rest of the world to speak out for freedom, and they did achieve freedom. Unfortunately, the Chinese did not.

Some of the people arrested at the time of Tiananmen Square are still in prison. We really don't have all of their names, but we do have the names of some prisoners of conscience that I brought to the attention of the Chinese Government. In a letter to the President of China, I included some of those, and I want to read them into the

RECORD. And I will submit their names and the description of their situation into the RECORD.

Before I read them all, I want to talk particularly about Liu Xiaobo. Liu Xiaobo is one of those individuals who spoke for freedom. He spent 5 years in prison and in reeducation-through-labor camps for supporting the Tiananmen students and for questioning the one-party system. Late last year, he was again arrested for being one of the organizers of the Charter '08, an online public petition for democracy and the rule of law. About 5,000 people signed it. Imagine the courage of these people to sign such a petition. Liu continues to be held without charges. We call for his immediate and unconditional release.

Let me read the name of Dr. Wang Bingzhang. He is very famous. There was an article in the paper yesterday about him. Hu Jia, Shi Tao, Chen Guangcheng, Gao Zhisheng, Yan Zhengxue, Pastor Zhang Rongliang, Bangri Chogtrul Rinpoche, and Ronggyal Adrag are being held. Some of these are from Tibet as well. There are others, but I want to submit these names for the RECORD as they are representative of the situation.

I just had the privilege of visiting China last week. We had magnificent hospitality from the Chinese Government, and I am grateful for the opportunity they gave us to hear about their plans for climate change and issues of global concern. It also afforded me the opportunity to speak about human rights in China and Tibet and congressional concern about it to the President, the Premier and the Chairman of the National People's Congress. In terms of our dialogue, congressional and interparliamentary dialogue, I think it was clear from our visit that this concern is bipartisan, and any dialogue we had between our two congresses would have to include a discussion of human rights.

When we were there, the first meeting we had was with Bishop Jin of Shanghai to discuss the status of religious freedom in China. He was optimistic about the Catholics that he led in Shanghai having some more freedom and making progress in that regard. And I respect that. But that is not the case for all who wish to exercise their religious freedom in China. And again, China is a country of contradictions. You see progress here and you see oppression there. Perhaps it is how regions deal with these issues. But the fact is that much more needs to be done in terms of religious freedom.

I mentioned that we had submitted this letter to the Chinese Government. When we were in Hong Kong we met with Han Dongfang. Mr. WOLF, you know him. Han Dongfang was in Tiananmen Square as a bus driver at the time, and he gave us his view about what was happening and what opportunities that could be there.

It is something that is not taught to children. What we learned is that some

students in Beijing University did not have any idea of who the man before the tank was. They didn't have any idea. They could not relate to that. It was not part of their knowledge. It didn't trigger anything that they had heard about in China. That is pretty remarkable. But the fact is that the world will never forget, and that image is one that inspires those who aspire to freedom wherever it is in the world.

I do believe that all countries of the world have to get to a place of more openness, more transparency and more accountability of government. And perhaps the issue we visited the Chinese about, climate change, is one that can open some doors. Environmental justice can help people have clean air and clean water and get answers from their government as to why they do not have it.

Today, on this floor, and this week we are observing something that is sacred ground when we talk about human rights in the world. It is a remarkable occurrence that will continue to inspire people throughout the world and also inspire those in China who hope for and aspire to freedom.

Mr. Lantos, our late colleague, introduced me to the Dalai Lama and the issue of human rights in China and Tibet. He was always saying to me, "don't be discouraged; the fight for human rights is a long one." But who would have thought that 20 years after Tiananmen Square we would be observing this, that people would still be imprisoned and that we would be submitting names of people who want to be able to speak more freely, to assemble and have more accountability from their government?

For this and many other reasons, I'm grateful to our colleagues for their leadership in bringing this legislation to the floor. Thank you for that opportunity.

And with that, Madam Speaker, I want to submit, in full, my letter and the list of prisoners. This is important because they say the worst form of punishment for someone who is a political prisoner is to say that no one remembers that you are here. No one remembers why you are here. So think about that as you are in prison.

Well, we want them to know that in the Congress of the United States, we do know about them, we do care about them, and that we will continue to call for their freedom.

MAY 27, 2009.

Hon. HU JINTAO,  
President,  
People's Republic of China.

DEAR PRESIDENT HU: I am writing to ask for your assistance in obtaining the release of certain individuals detained or imprisoned in China. It is my understanding that these individuals are prisoners of conscience and they are detained or imprisoned for exercising rights that are guaranteed to them under Chinese law or under international human rights conventions that have been signed or ratified by the Chinese government.

Attached is a list of selected prisoners and brief descriptions of their cases. I look for-

ward to working with you on a positive outcome on these cases and for the welfare of these individuals. Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

NANCY PELOSI,  
Speaker of the House.

KEY PRISONERS IN CHINA WHO SHOULD BE  
RELEASED—SUBMITTED MAY 27, 2009

Liu Xiaobo was detained and transported to an undisclosed location in December 2008 without any legal proceeding. He was one of the original signers of Charter 08 that calls for new policies to improve human rights and democracy in China. Liu is reportedly under residential surveillance at a location outside of his residence, in violation of China's Criminal Procedure law. It is my understanding that he has not been allowed to meet with his lawyer or family except for one brief visit with his wife. Under Chinese law, a person under residential surveillance does not need permission to meet with his lawyer.

Dr. Wang Bingzhang was abducted by Chinese authorities in Vietnam in June 2002 and brought to China. He was then convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment in solitary confinement in a trial that produced no evidence or witnesses to prove the charges against him. Dr. Wang is an internationally recognized pro-democracy activist and the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention found that Wang's detention is arbitrary. Dr. Wang is a permanent resident of the United States and his sister and daughter are U.S. citizens. He is currently held in Beijing Prison in Shaoguan, Guangdong province, and suffers from phlebitis and has had three major strokes. At minimum, he should be released on medical parole.

Hu Jia was detained in December 2007 and sentenced to 3.5 years in prison in March 2008. The decision to take him into custody seems to have been made after leaders in several Chinese provinces issued a manifesto demanding broader land rights for peasants whose property had been confiscated for development. Hu pleaded not guilty on charges of "inciting subversion of state power" at his trial.

Shi Tao is a Chinese journalist serving a ten-year prison sentence for sending an email description of a government order prohibiting Chinese media from recognizing the fifteenth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square protests to a New York-based democracy website. Shi Tao was convicted with email account information provided by Yahoo! China. His lawyer, Guo Guoting, was repeatedly harassed in an effort to prevent him from representing Shi Tao.

Chen Guangcheng, a self-trained legal advocate who tried in June 2005 to investigate reports that officials in Linyi city, Shandong province, had subjected thousands of people to forced abortions, beatings, and compulsory sterilization in order to meet population control targets. Although central government officials agreed that the officials used illegal means, authorities rejected the class-action lawsuit Chen tried to file. Chen was tried on August 24, 2006, and sentenced to four years and three months for "intentional destruction of property" and "gathering people to disturb traffic order." Chen, who is blind, has reportedly been severely beaten in jail and has gone on a hunger strike to protest the beatings. He is serving his sentence in Linyi Prison.

Gao Zhisheng, founder of a Beijing law firm, has represented numerous activists, religious leaders, and writers. On October 18, 2005, Gao wrote an open letter to Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao, exposing widespread torture against Falun Gong practitioners. On November 4, officials shut down his law firm

and began a campaign of harassment against Gao, his family, and associates. Authorities abducted Gao on August 15, 2006 and convicted him on December 22 of "inciting subversion of state power" and subject to a three-year sentence, suspended for five years. After Gao sent an open letter to the U.S. Congress in September 2007, he was taken away by the police for over 50 days, and tortured. Gao disappeared again on January 19, 2009. His current whereabouts are unknown.

Yan Zhengxue, a 63-year old writer and painter, was detained on October 18, 2006, during a police raid on his home in the Jiaojiang district of Taizhou city, Zhejiang province. The Taizhou People's Intermediate Court convicted him on April 13, 2007, of inciting subversion and sentenced him to three years in prison after he attended a conference in the U.S. several years earlier and published on the Internet three articles critical of the Chinese government. Yang's cell mate reportedly attacked him, causing head injuries. Yang's family is concerned about his diminishing physical and mental health due to harsh treatment in prison.

Pastor Zhang Rongliang is a Christian leader who was detained in Zhengzhou city, Henan province, in December 2004 and sentenced in June 2006 to seven years and six months in prison. Authorities charged him with "fraudulently obtaining border-exit documents" and illegally crossing the border in an effort to attend missions conferences. He had been beaten, detained, and harassed a number of times since his conversion to Christianity in 1969. He is reportedly in poor health and suffering from diabetes.

Bangri Chogtrul Rinpoche, a lama who lived as a householder, was convicted of inciting splittism and sentenced to life imprisonment in September 2000. He and his wife managed a children's home in Lhasa. The Lhasa Intermediate People's Court commuted his sentence from life imprisonment to a fixed term of 19 years in July 2003, and then reduced his sentence by an additional year in November 2005. He is serving his sentence, which will be complete on July 30, 2021, in Qushui Prison near Lhasa. He suffers from heart disease and gall stones.

Ronggyal Adrag, a nomad, climbed onto a stage at a horse-racing festival in Litang county, Sichuan province, on August 1, 2007, and shouted slogans calling for the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet, the release of Gedun Choekyi Nyima (the Panchen Lama identified by the Dalai Lama), freedom of religion, and Tibetan independence. The Ganzi Intermediate People's Court sentenced him on November 20, 2007, to eight year's imprisonment for inciting splittism.

□ 1730

Mr. POE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. WOLF), the ranking member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice and Science, and also, he's the co-chair of the Tom Lantos Congressional Human Rights Commission.

Mr. WOLF. I thank the gentleman. I also want to thank the chairman and the ranking member and the Speaker for their efforts to bring this important resolution to the floor.

Twenty years after peaceful pro-democracy demonstrators gathered in Tiananmen Square and were brutally crushed, the human rights situation in China remains bleak. Not only does the government consistently silence dissent, repress religious believers and stifle opposition, but it is in the business

of actively rewriting history, almost like the communist government did in Russia.

Today's Washington Post features an op-ed, which I'd like to submit for the RECORD, which opens with an exchange that the author, Dan Southerland, had with a Chinese student a couple of years ago. Southerland, chief of the Washington Post's Beijing Bureau in the late Eighties, references his time as a reporter in Beijing on the now infamous June 4, 1989.

He writes, "but it soon became clear that June 4 meant nothing to her," a student. "Chinese censors have managed to erase all mention of that tragedy from the country's textbooks and state-run media."

The human rights situation in China is made worse by America's diminished commitment to raise these issues and be a voice for the voiceless. I'm saddened to say today that this has been true of successive administrations of both political parties.

In her first trip to the region, Secretary of State Clinton failed to make even a cursory public mention of human rights, saying that, "those issues can't interfere with economic, security or environmental matters."

Now, why would the Secretary of State say that? A Washington Post editorial following her trip and similarly dismissive comments on human rights in Egypt said that Secretary Clinton is, quote the Washington Post, and I thank them for this editorial, "sending a message to rulers around the world that their abuses won't be taken seriously by this U.S. administration."

Nor were they taken seriously in the waning days of the last administration. Congressman SMITH and I traveled to Beijing last July, just 1 month prior to the commencement of the 2008 Olympics. We brought with us a list of over 700 political prisoners to present to Ambassador Li, the current chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the National People's Congress, and pressed for the release of all political prisoners in China.

One night during our trip we were scheduled to meet with several human rights lawyers for dinner. All but one person scheduled to meet us was detained or otherwise prevented from attending by the Chinese security forces. The one activist with whom we were able to meet was arrested later that evening, and he and his family continue to face harassment by security forces. Very little was done by the Embassy or the State Department in the last administration when that took place. Silence was their response, basically, to this problem.

Now we see just this week, news reports indicate that Treasury Secretary Geithner desperately sought to assure China, our biggest creditor, that their billions of dollars in U.S. government debt were not a liability.

Why didn't Geithner at least raise the issue of human rights? Couldn't he have just said something about it?

Couldn't he have made a statement about it? Couldn't he have done something about it? And the answer? He did nothing about it. Perhaps if he's caught up or wherever he is in Beijing today he will correct the record and at least say something.

Our own economic reality has effectively silenced our voice, a tragic loss for all those political dissidents who languish in the Chinese laogai, those house church Christians who worship secretly in their homes, the Tibetans—and I've been to Tibet. They have plundered Tibet. The Uyghurs who are being persecuted, the Muslims who are being persecuted by the Chinese Government.

And the Catholic Church. There are 34 bishops in jail today in the Catholic Church, and yet no one speaks out on behalf of the Catholic Church.

And lastly, the Falun Gong who have suffered so much.

Since my first trip to China in 1991 with my good friend, Congressman SMITH, the human rights situation has gotten worse, despite promises to the contrary during the debate to grant China most favored nation status. One of the worst votes that this institution has ever cast was to give this evil empire, if you will, in China the most favored nation trading status.

It was during this trip that we visited Beijing Prison Number One. Chinese authorities informed us that approximately 40 Tiananmen Square protesters were in prison. Our requests to visit the demonstrators were denied. But instead, we found some demonstrators making socks for export to the United States whereby they were working on free and cheap labor to sell things to the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. POE of Texas. I yield the gentleman an additional 1 minute.

Mr. WOLF. Unbelievably, 20 years after Tiananmen, our own State Department Human Rights Report indicates that the Chinese Government still has not provided a comprehensible, credible accounting of all those killed, missing or detained in connection with the violent suppression of the 1989 demonstration.

But Tiananmen is not simply a commemoration of a past event. Dozens of people are still believed to be imprisoned in connection with the demonstrating at Tiananmen, and millions more Chinese citizens still hope for the end to their oppression.

In a Constitution Day speech, President Ronald Reagan described the United States Constitution as "a covenant we have made, not only with ourselves, but with all of mankind."

In closing, Madam Speaker, we have an obligation to keep the covenant. And I continue to pray, as many people prayed during the days of the evil empire in the Soviet Union, pray for the fall, the collapse of the Chinese, of the Russian Government, and the collapse of the Wall, many and millions are

praying here in the United States and around the West for the fall, the fall of the Chinese Government, whereby there will be freedom, the government will be changed and the people of China, the good people of China, and they are good people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. POE of Texas. I yield the gentleman an additional minute.

Mr. WOLF. The good people of China will be able to live in freedom, and there can be a rally in Tiananmen Square, a prayer meeting in Tiananmen Square, where millions can come from every denomination and worship in peace and have freedom and justice and democracy.

So we must remember, remember those who suffer. They are the heroes for China. And we will see this government change and we will see, in my lifetime, freedom in China.

[From the Washington Post, June 2, 2009]

#### TIANANMEN: DAYS TO REMEMBER

(By Dan Southerland)

Two years ago I met a Chinese student who was entering graduate school in the United States. I told her I had been in Beijing during "6-4," the Chinese shorthand for the massacre of June 4, 1989.

"What are you talking about?" she asked.

At first I thought she might not have understood my Chinese, but it soon became clear that "June 4" meant nothing to her. I probably shouldn't have been surprised.

In the 20 years since that day in 1989 when Chinese troops opened fire on unarmed civilians near Tiananmen Square, Chinese censors have managed to erase all mention of that tragedy from the country's textbooks and state-run media.

But for me, Tiananmen is impossible to forget. As Beijing bureau chief for The Post, I covered the student demonstrations that began in mid-April, tried to track a murky power struggle among top Chinese leaders and managed a small team of young, Chinese-speaking American reporters.

What I remember best was the sudden openness of many Beijing citizens of all professions. They were inspired by throngs of students calling for political reform, media freedom and an end to "official profiteering."

People I believed to be Communist Party supporters were suddenly telling me what they really thought. Some who had been silent in the past even debated politics on street corners.

In early May, Chinese journalists petitioned for the right to report openly on the Tiananmen protests, which on May 17 swelled to more than a million people marching in the capital. Journalists from all the leading Chinese newspapers, including the People's Daily, the mouthpiece of the Communist Party, joined in. Their slogan was "Don't force us to lie."

For a brief period, Chinese journalists were allowed to report objectively on the student protests. But this press freedom was short-lived and ended May 20 with the imposition of martial law and the entry of the People's Liberation Army into Beijing.

At first, Beijing residents manning makeshift barriers blocked the troops. But late on the evening of June 3, tanks, armored personnel carriers and soldiers firing automatic weapons broke through to the square.

The death toll quickly became a taboo subject for Chinese media.

Chinese doctors and nurses who had openly sided with students on the square, and who had allowed reporters into operating rooms to view the wounded, came under pressure to conceal casualty figures.

One brave doctor at a hospital not far from Tiananmen Square led me and a colleague to a makeshift morgue, where we saw some 20 bullet-riddled bodies laid out on a cement floor. I later learned that the doctor was “disciplined” for allowing us to view that scene.

A Chinese journalist I considered a friend tried to convince me that government estimates of fewer than 300 killed were correct and that these included a large number of military and police casualties. I later learned from colleagues of his that this journalist was working for state security.

After comparing notes with others, my guess was that the actual death toll was at least 700, and that most of those killed were ordinary Beijing residents.

It's almost incredible that the Chinese government has succeeded for so long in covering up a tragedy of this magnitude.

But for those who closely monitor the continued repression of civil liberties in China—and the government's stranglehold on news deemed “sensitive”—it's not surprising.

Chinese authorities continue to intimidate reporters, block Web sites and jam broadcasts of outside news organizations. China is the world's leading jailer of journalists and cyber-dissidents.

Chinese youths are among the most Web-savvy in the world. But Chinese search engines, chat and blog applications, as well as Internet service providers, are equipped with filters that block out certain keywords incorporated in a blacklist that is continually updated.

China's censorship is multipronged, sometimes heavy-handed and sometimes sophisticated, allowing debate on some issues and shutting it down on others, such as Tiananmen.

Censors hold online service providers and Internet cafe owners responsible for the content that users read and post. A small blogging service will usually err on the side of caution rather than lose its license because of a debate about June 4.

Lines that cannot be crossed shift from time to time, leaving citizens uncertain and therefore prone to self-censorship.

The good news is that the blackout isn't complete. We know from Radio Free Asia's call-in shows that some younger Chinese know just enough about Tiananmen to want to learn more.

I work with several Chinese broadcasters who were students in Beijing on June 4. Many of them saw more than I did. And they are here to remind me—and many Chinese—of a history we should never forget.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 5 minutes to the chair, or co-chair, of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Caucus, an outspoken advocate for human rights internationally and domestically, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN).

Mr. MCGOVERN. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN), the chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, for his leadership on this issue and for his advocacy of human rights.

And I also want to thank my good friend, Congressman SANDER LEVIN, for introducing this resolution.

I want to thank Congressmen FRANK WOLF and CHRIS SMITH for their dedication to promoting human rights in China.

And I especially want to thank the Speaker of the House, NANCY PELOSI, for insisting that we keep alive the memory of Tiananmen Square.

Madam Speaker, 1989 was a tumultuous year. It was the year Solidarity won the elections in Poland, the year the people of Germany tore down the Berlin Wall, and the year six Jesuit priests were murdered by the Salvadoran military.

And in May and June of 1989, it was the year when the people of China spontaneously came together calling for political and economic reforms. Students, journalists, workers, government employees, police, and even members of the Armed Forces, nonviolently raised their voices and asked their government, the Chinese Government, to listen to the people and engage in direct dialogue on how to reform the nation.

Because the largest gathering was in the largest main square of China, Tiananmen Square in Beijing, this moment in history is known as Tiananmen Square.

After an internal struggle, the Chinese authorities decided they did not want to talk directly with their people. Instead, they chose to respond with brute force that forever links the words “Tiananmen Square” with the brutal quelling of democracy, dissent and human aspiration.

Earlier today the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission held a hearing entitled, “20 years After the Crackdown: Tiananmen Square and Human Rights in China.” And I would like to briefly describe just two of the individuals who testified before the Commission.

Mr. Fang Zheng was leaving Tiananmen Square in the early morning of June 4, 1989, along with other student protesters in an orderly retreat. He suddenly realized that a military tank was approaching them from behind. Sensing the imminent danger, he used all his strength to push a female student out of the tank's path. In doing so, both his legs were crushed by the tank's rolling treads.

Fang Zheng has continued to live in China. He has refused to cooperate with the government in its effort to cover up the truth of his lost legs and the massacre that took place. For the past 20 years he's been harassed and closely monitored by the police.

Always an excellent athlete, he excelled at sports, even after his legs were amputated. He won two gold medals and broke two Chinese national records at the 1992 All-China Disabled Athletic Games. And in 1994 he was forbidden to participate in the Far East and South Pacific Region Games, and last year he was banned from competing in the 2008 Special Olympics held in Beijing.

With the help of the mothers of Tiananmen Square and other brave Chinese who keep alive the memory of Tiananmen Square inside China, Fang Zheng is here in Washington to remember the 20th anniversary.

And even before Tiananmen, another brave man, Mr. Wang Youcai, was active in the Chinese democracy movement. In 1989 he was the Secretary-General of the Beijing Higher Education Students Autonomous Union in the Tiananmen Square protest. A graduate student at Peking University, he was arrested in 1989 and sentenced in 1991 to 4 years in prison for counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement. He was paroled in 1991, following a visit by then-Secretary of State, James Baker.

In 1998, Wang and a group of fellow Chinese citizens tried to officially register the China Democracy Party, but it was banned by the Chinese Government. And in December of 1998, Wang was sentenced to 11 years in prison for subversion. He was released in 2004, due to U.S. and international pressure, and sent into exile.

He has since lived in the United States, studying at Harvard and the University of Illinois, and he continues to be a member of the Chinese Democracy Party and firmly believes that the transition to constitutional democracy will occur in China.

These are just two of the millions of stories surrounding the events known as Tiananmen Square. And I would like to take a moment to remember the hundreds, perhaps thousands who were murdered in Tiananmen Square or later imprisoned or sent into exile. And I want to remember the families and friends and the colleagues of those who died and those who survived.

Madam Speaker, I will enter into the RECORD articles by Dr. Jianli Yang and Mr. Ha Jin, both of whom live in Massachusetts, and have recently published reflections on Tiananmen Square. Dr. Jianli was a student in Tiananmen, and Mr. Ha, a member of the People's Liberation Army and a student in the United States.

This week there will be a number of events on Capitol Hill and around Washington to remember Tiananmen Square. I encourage my House colleagues, congressional staff and House employees to take advantage of this opportunity and hear from firsthand eyewitnesses like U.S. journalists.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BERMAN. I am pleased to yield the gentleman an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. MCGOVERN. They will be able to hear from firsthand eyewitnesses like U.S. journalists speaking at the Newseum on reporting live from Tiananmen Square, watching the documentary “Tank Man” in the Congressional Visitor Center, celebrating around a replica of the Goddess of Democracy Statue on the west lawn of the Capitol, or attending other hearings and events.

The Chinese Government wants not only the Chinese people but the world to forget Tiananmen Square. It is up to each of us to keep the memory alive.



[From the New York Times, May 31, 2009]  
EXILED TO ENGLISH

(By Ha Jin)

BOSTON.—I was in the People's Liberation Army in the 1970s, and we soldiers had always been instructed that our principal task was to serve and protect the people. So when the Chinese military turned on the students in Tiananmen Square, it shocked me so much that for weeks I was in a daze.

At the time, I was in the United States, finishing a dissertation in American literature. My plan was to go back to China once it was done. I had a teaching job waiting for me at Shandong University.

After the crackdown, some friends assured me that the Communist Party would admit its mistake within a year. I couldn't see why they were so optimistic. I also thought it would be foolish to wait passively for historical change. I had to find my own existence, separate from the state power in China.

That was when I started to think about staying in America and writing exclusively in English, even if China was my only subject, even if Chinese was my native tongue. It took me almost a year to decide to follow the road of Conrad and Nabokov and write in a language that was not my own. I knew I might fail. I was also aware that I was forgoing an opportunity: the Chinese language had been so polluted by revolutionary movements and political jargon that there was great room for improvement.

Yet if I wrote in Chinese, my audience would be in China and I would therefore have to publish there and be at the mercy of its censorship. To preserve the integrity of my work, I had no choice but to write in English.

To some Chinese, my choice of English is a kind of betrayal. But loyalty is a two-way street. I feel I have been betrayed by China, which has suppressed its people and made artistic freedom unavailable. I have tried to write honestly about China and preserve its real history. As a result, most of my work cannot be published in China.

I cannot leave behind June 4, 1989, the day that set me on this solitary path. The memory of the bloodshed still rankles, and working in this language has been a struggle. But I remind myself that both Conrad and Nabokov suffered intensely for choosing English—and that literature can transcend language. If my work is good and significant, it should be valuable to the Chinese.

[From Foreign Policy, May 2009]

AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY OF CHINA

(By Jianli Yang)

The memoirs of Zhao Ziyang provide insight into what China would be like today if the 1989 democracy movement had prevailed.

"We must establish that [the] final goal of political reform is the realization of this advanced political system. If we don't move towards this goal, it will be impossible to resolve the abnormal conditions in China's market economy."

One of the most sincere advocates for an "advanced political system" in China—a system that included an independent judiciary, freedom of the press, and the right of citizens to organize (in a word, democracy)—was not a disenchanted dissident or an armchair academic. Writing at the most unlikely of times, the man was Zhao Ziyang, secretary general of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Zhao was toppled in 1989 after trying to peacefully negotiate with student demonstrators—like myself—in Tiananmen Square. His fall paved the way for hard-liners, under the leadership of CCP official Deng Xiaoping, to crush the demonstrations with soldiers and tanks on the morning of

June 4, 1989. In one bold, violent stroke, the one-party regime, teetering on the verge of collapse, found reprieve. Zhao's vision of a more moderate democratic future, one meticulously documented in his recently released memoirs, vanished from the scene, its author put under house arrest.

There could hardly be a better time for Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang to be published, as the memoirs will be in both English and Chinese this week. Early June marks the 20th anniversary of Tiananmen Square—a memory that will certainly remind China of the democratic ideals left behind in tragedy. Reading Zhao's account, I—and no doubt other readers—cannot help but imagine what China would be like today if Zhao had prevailed in June 1989. What if the dissenters who stood firmly before the government in Tiananmen Square had gained Zhao as a powerful ally to their cause? Would China have devolved into political chaos? Or would it be a robust democracy, steeped in cultural freedoms, social justice, and economic vibrancy? In seeking to answer that question about the past, we can learn much about the present: a China that in terms of its political system and tendency toward authoritarianism has evolved little since 1989, and yet has become both the United States' second-largest trading partner and its most significant competitor.

Looking back at the crucial moment in 1989, it is first important to keep in mind how easily things might have turned in a different direction. China's movement toward democracy in 1989 was not as far-fetched as it might seem today. In fact, support for the democratic movement was so great that it caused an unprecedented split within the CCP leadership. A quarter or even a third of the officials in Beijing joined the protesters. Most of the rest were sympathetic toward the students. The degree of dissatisfaction within the party was very high, and many agreed with the protesters that the CCP had lost any pretense of being a "people's" party and had become a self-serving elite.

That disillusionment came from a series of market-oriented reforms begun a decade earlier, in 1978. Although the changes produced rapid economic growth, they also led to contradictions: opening the economy negated the moral authority of the Communist revolution and unleashed unbridled corruption in its place. The 1989 democracy movement had two slogans. One was "Freedom and democracy," and the other was "No official business dealings, no corruption." After Tiananmen Square protesters were quashed and their government sympathizers, like Zhao, sidelined, corruption blossomed just as much as China's GDP (the fastest-growing among developed states over the last 25 years) has.

It didn't have to be this way. If the democracy movement had succeeded, the CCP would likely still be the ruling party. But its policies and goals would have evolved more democratically under Zhao's leadership. In the last chapter of his memoirs, the former general-secretary of CCP praises the Western system of parliamentary democracy and says it is the only way for China to address corruption and inequality. He would no doubt have led the country down this path.

Zhao's reforms, one might imagine, would have proceeded at a purposeful but amenable pace, beginning with an opening of partial freedoms of assembly and demonstration. Student organizations would have become lawful, eventually precipitating a lift on the ban on political parties. The press would likewise feel a weight lifted, and the country's National People's Congress would have become more than a rubber-stamp assembly. Public participation would have followed,

with public debate emerging on difficult questions from ethnic relations, to foreign affairs, to government corruption, to HIV/AIDS and the environment. In other words, China would have embarked on a peaceful transition to democracy. A democratic China—one that followed Zhao's model—would have prospered economically, too.

Instead, today China feels the consequences of rejecting this path of reform. The same corruption that motivated the opposition 20 years ago is today an open sore on the face of Chinese society. Eighty percent of China's wealth is thought to be controlled by the top 10 percent of party officials. And it's visible. Corruption distorts every aspect of Chinese society, from the shoddy workmanship of the elementary schools that collapsed during last year's earthquake (while the homes of party officials stood firm) to the summary displacement of more than 300,000 Beijing citizens in the name of "beautification" to prepare for the 2008 Olympics. No wonder, then, that corruption is still the largest source of alienation between the CCP and the population. Endemic corruption is the grievance cited in an estimated 100,000 major protests each year in China.

To the outside world, Chinese society has prospered. But internally, it has atrophied morally and socially. China maintains its competitive edge through a base exploitation of its workers, who labor without rights or avenues of recourse. Even the most advanced free market economies find it hard to compete. The Chinese government becomes rich, but ordinary people do not. The average Chinese citizen contributes less to the country's GDP today than he or she did in 1988.

One of the most famous slogans for China's reforms has been to "cross the river by feeling stones." Surely, Deng Xiaoping meant to infer a gradual notion of change. Instead, the metaphor today mockingly describes a society at odds with itself, lacking direction to support its ever-looming one party structure. The contradiction will not easily go away—and will likely flare again, just as it did two decades ago. Zhao Ziyang foresaw this perpetual confrontation years ago, arguing that unless the Chinese government moved toward real democratic reform "it will be impossible to resolve the abnormal conditions in China's market economy."

They were prophetic words, indeed. Today, even as China's leadership has moved further from Zhao's vision, the Tiananmen ideals never left the political dialogue. More than at any time in the last two decades, people might just be willing to protest to bring those ideals back again. Until then, we are left to confront the equally predictive words of the Soviet-era dissident, Andrei Sakharov: "The world community cannot rely on a government that does not rely on its own people."

Mr. POE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER), ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Madam Speaker, June 4 marks the 20th anniversary of the massacre of the Chinese democracy movement at Tiananmen Square in Beijing. This date marks a turning point, and it also marks a day of shame for the bloody murder, a murder that was committed by the Communist party bosses when they sent Chinese troops to slaughter the idealistic Chinese people who were demanding democracy in Tiananmen Square at this time just 20 years ago.

This day the government of China affirmed to the world that it is a criminal enterprise that is perfectly willing to murder unarmed people in order to stay in power.

□ 1745

Shame on those Communist Party bosses who still 20 years after Tiananmen Square would still massacre advocates of democracy if they would gather in their streets, just as they would massacre Falun Gong members one at a time as they would arrest them, put them into prison, murder them, and would sell their body parts, just as they would murder Tibetan nationalists or Christians or other religious believers. Shame on Beijing. Shame on the people of the world who would treat the Government of Beijing as if it were the same as a democratic government.

June 4 is not just a day of shame for the Beijing regime, however. It is a day of shame for our government as well. Under President Reagan, we made it clear that the United States would continue providing credit, investment, beneficial trade arrangements, and technology transfer as long as China was willing to continue on the path of reform and on the path of making their society more open. Reagan, had he been confronted with Tiananmen Square, would have sent a message: if you send the troops in to massacre these people, the deal is off. You will pay a price.

Do you know what our government did? It wasn't President Reagan. It was President Herbert Walker Bush. Do you know what his message said? It said nothing because he didn't send a message, and that was the message the murderers in Beijing needed to hear.

America really doesn't give a damn about democracy. America doesn't care about human rights. We care about making a buck, and if you have to slaughter the people at Tiananmen Square, the Americans will never ever protest; they won't whisper a protest; they won't cancel contracts, because money is more important to the Americans than freedom.

Well, I'm afraid that did not represent the America that I'm all about. That immorality of siding with a dictatorship, of siding with the gangsters, of siding with the murderers in order to make a short-term profit—that policy—is coming back to haunt us now. That policy has created a monster in Beijing—a powerful, powerful force for evil in this world that we now must confront.

Today marks an anniversary—an anniversary of shame on those who committed the murders, an anniversary of shame on what our reaction was to those murders and to the repression that took place 20 years ago.

Let us send a message to the people of China: We are on their side. Hopefully, if nothing else, this resolution will let them know that, as our people stumble over themselves in trying to

make short-term profits by making deals with the gangsters who have oppressed the people of China, there are Americans here who still hold true to the values of Jefferson, of Washington—of our Founding Fathers—and that there are Americans who still hold true to those values that liberty and justice for all is more important than short-term profit gains for American capitalists.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, let me first ask you how much time I may consume.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

First of all, I would like to thank my good friend, Representative SANDY LEVIN of Michigan, for his leadership as the chief sponsor of this resolution and as the co-Chair of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sympathy to the families of those killed, tortured and imprisoned as a result of their participation in the democracy protests in Tiananmen Square and in other parts of China 20 years ago this week.

The world must not forget the horrendous events which occurred that fateful day when the Chinese Army was ordered to clear the square, using lethal force against its own citizens. Hundreds of unarmed civilians were killed or injured. The Chinese Government detained thousands of Chinese citizens in connection with the protests. Many of them still languish today in Chinese prisons.

Even after 20 years, the precise number of dead, wounded, and detained remains unclear. Chinese authorities still censor information that does not conform to its official version of events surrounding the Tiananmen massacre. The government also limits or bans information about the crackdown from appearing in Chinese textbooks.

How can China claim its place as a major global power if the government refuses to address the Tiananmen protests in an honest and candid way? How can China develop into a modern society if its own citizens are prevented from knowing their own history?

This resolution calls on the Chinese Government to initiate a full investigation into the crackdown, to review the cases of those still imprisoned for participating in the protests and to end its harassment and discrimination against those who were involved. Finally, this resolution recognizes those Chinese citizens who have suffered for their efforts to keep the struggle for democracy alive during the last two decades.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. POE of Texas. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, in 1992, I had the opportunity to go to Tiananmen Square.

I was there by myself, but the square was packed. Once again, it was packed with a lot of people, with a lot of students. I was well-received by those students. They wanted to talk to me. They were very friendly, and they were friendly to me for the sole reason that I was an American. Otherwise, they did not know me at all.

While talking to some of the students who weren't afraid to talk to me because of the authorities that were nearby, one of them whispered to me in perfect English that we want what you have in America. Of course, he was speaking of that word "liberty." Down in the soul of every person on Earth, I believe, is that spirit that the good Lord gives us for freedom. I think we are made that way. We are made that way in this country, but we are made that way throughout the world, and those students in China are made that way as well for they seek and hope to obtain the word "liberty."

The rulers in China need to release the Tiananmen Square students. China should show the world that they are no longer going to continue to murder their own people who peaceably disagree with the government.

In Beijing, not only is there Tiananmen Square, but also nearby is the Forbidden City. The Forbidden City got its name because it was a walled fortress where the emperors for thousands of years would live and rule the massive country of China, but they forbade the people to come into the Forbidden City. The Forbidden City still exists in a mentality way in China for the City of Beijing still forbids its own people the freedom to speak as they wish, the freedom to assemble, and it forbids the freedom of the people to disagree with their government in a peaceful way.

In the name of liberty and in the name of freedom in which we believe, we have an obligation here in the United States to speak out against the acts of terror that the Chinese Government imposes on their own people. We need to remember the dark nights of June 1989. We need to light a candle to bring openness and transparency to the acts that the Chinese Government committed on its own students.

And that's just the way it is.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I would like to thank, Mr. LEVIN for introducing this important resolution commemorating the 20th anniversary of the brutal suppression of innocent men, women and children in China.

Twenty years ago, in May 1989, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators gathered on Tiananmen Square and elsewhere in China to express their desire for peaceful democratic reform. In the face of these massive demonstrations the Chinese Communist Party hesitated. There were apparently some decent men and women in the party's leadership, who had begun to understand what a tragedy Communist rule has been for the Chinese people, countless millions of whose lives had been destroyed by its famines and cultural revolutions and totalitarian social controls.

But we know what happened. Jiang Zemin [JANG ZUH-MEEN] pushed the reformers



aside, cleared Tiananmen Square with tanks, and shot to death thousands of peaceful demonstrators.

In December of 1996 here in Washington, at the invitation of President Bill Clinton, General Chi Haotian, the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China, the general who was the operational commander of the soldiers who slaughtered pro-democracy demonstrators in and around Tiananmen Square in June of 1989, said, "Not a single person lost his life in Tiananmen Square."

According to General Chi, the Chinese Army did nothing more violent than, and I quote him, "pushing of people."

General Chi not only met with Mr. Clinton in the White House but was accorded full military honors, including a 19-gun salute and visits to military bases. Rather than getting the red carpet, General Chi should have been held to account for his crimes against humanity.

To counter the big lie, I quickly put together and chaired a hearing of eyewitnesses to the Tiananmen Square massacre, including several Chinese, a former editor of the People's Daily, and Time Magazine's Beijing bureau chief.

I also invited General Chi or anyone else to testify before our committee from the government of China. They were no-shows, although I left a chair for them.

One of our witnesses, a man by the name of Xuecan Wu, the former editor of the People's Daily, was singled out by Li Peng for punishment and got 4 years in prison for trying to tell the truth to his readers in Beijing.

Mr. Wu called General Chi's lie about no one being killed "shameless" and told my subcommittee that he personally saw at least, and I quote him here, "at least 30 carts carrying dead and wounded people."

Eyewitness Jian-Ki Yang, Vice President of the Alliance for a Democratic China, testified, and I quote, "I saw trucks of soldiers who got out and started firing automatic weapons at the people. Each time they fired the weapons, three or four people were hit, and each time the crowd went down to the ground. We were there for about an hour and a half. I saw 13 people killed. We saw four tanks coming from the square, and they were going very fast at a very high speed. The two tanks in front were chasing students."

He went on to say, "They ran over the students. Everyone was screaming. We counted 11 bodies."

Time Magazine's David Aikman, another eyewitness said, and I quote, "Children were killed holding hands with their mothers. A 9-year-old boy was shot seven or eight times in the back, and his parents placed the corpse on a truck and drove through the streets of northwest Beijing on Sunday morning. 'This is what the government has done,' the distraught mother kept telling crowds of passersby through a makeshift speaker system."

Madam Speaker, 20 years after Tiananmen Square, the Chinese government perpetuates General Chi's Orwellian fabrication that no one died. In truth, thousands died and approximately 7,000 were wounded.

Twenty years after Tiananmen Square, an untold number of democracy activists remain incarcerated for peacefully advocating human rights. To be jailed by the Chinese, as we all know, means torture, humiliation, and severe deprivations. The ugly spirit of the Tiananmen Square Massacre continues. The brave and

noble human rights attorney Gao Zhisheng has been subjected to excruciating torture that continues today. We must raise our voice on his behalf—and for others like him.

Earlier this year, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said she wouldn't let China's shameless human rights record "interfere" with other issues including and especially China's purchase of U.S. treasury securities to finance America's debt. Wittingly or not, that kind of attitude enables abuse and torture.

In the early 1990s, Congressman FRANK WOLF and I visited Beijing Prison Number 1, a bleak gulag where 40 Tiananmen Square prisoners were being unjustly detained. We saw firsthand the price paid by brave and tenacious individuals for peacefully petitioning their government for freedom. And it was not pretty. They looked like the walking skeletons of Auschwitz.

Despite the hopes and expectations of some that robust trade with China would usher in at least a modicum of respect for human rights and fundamental liberties, the simple fact of the matter is that the dictatorship in China oppresses, tortures and mistreats millions of its own citizens.

Moreover, China is the land of the one-child-per-couple policy, a barbaric policy that makes brothers and sisters illegal. Forced abortion, force sterilization and ruinous fines are routinely deployed to ensure compliance with this Draconian and utterly cruel family planning policy.

The criminal slaughter of Tiananmen has had terrible and lasting consequences for the Chinese people, and for the world. China had reached a turning point, and failed to turn. Twenty years later, it still has not turned.

The Chinese people still live under a one-party government that ruthlessly represses dissenters and democratic activists, that controls all news media and blocks and censors the Internet. The Communist party still enforces a one-child policy that makes brothers and sisters illegal, and regularly conducts campaigns of forced abortion. It still persecutes religious believers, and it has stepped up its campaign of cultural genocide in Xinjiang [SHIN JANG] and Tibet.

The men and women who rule China today are the protégés of the criminals of Tiananmen, and, in order to claim legitimacy, do everything they can to suppress the facts about Tiananmen. Last summer FRANK WOLF and I walked across Tiananmen Square—officials searched us before we entered the square, and squads of police surrounded us while we were on it, terrified we might hold up a simple sign or banner. Later, we tried to look up "Tiananmen Square" on the tightly-controlled Chinese Internet. Of course, mere mention of the slaughter has been removed from the Chinese Internet. As noted in the resolution before us, the Chinese authorities censor any effort to inform the public about what occurred in June 1989.

I also want to say that our government has not done enough to support the Chinese people. And our failure has been a defining event for our own foreign policy, also with terrible consequences for the world.

The Chinese Communist Party, and dictators around the world, drew the conclusion that America's talk of human rights was just hot air, that the only interests that really matter to us are financial.

Our government has a duty to speak up more on human rights in China. Unfortunately,

they have been doing the opposite. President Obama has not shown much interest in human rights. In our policies towards Cuba, Venezuela, Iran, and Russia, to name a few countries, human rights has been dramatically downgraded, and everyone understands this.

And Secretary Clinton has effectively taken human rights off the U.S. agenda with the Chinese Government, telling the global media that concern for the protection of human rights of the Chinese people can't be allowed to "interfere" with the economic crisis, climate change, and security—as if human rights were disconnected and irrelevant to those issues.

And so, Madam Speaker, it is all the more important that the House of Representatives pass this resolution, and by doing so:

express sympathy to the families of those who suffered so terribly as a result of the Chinese Government's actions 20 years ago, and our solidarity with those who continue to suffer human rights abuses at the hands of Chinese Government officials;

call for a full and independent investigation into what occurred during the Tiananmen Square suppression;

call on the Chinese Government to release all those, including those who participated in the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, who are wrongfully imprisoned in violation of their human rights; and

call on the Administration to take aggressive action in support of China's human rights defenders.

Mr. DREIER. Madam Speaker, this week, on June 3 and 4, we will mark the 20th anniversary of the tragic events at Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989. I remember very vividly the terrible images of tanks rolling through the square. At the time, I happened to be in Krakow, Poland as an election observer for Poland's first free elections. As we watched the television coverage from Solidarity Headquarters, we did not know the context or the details of the event that was unfolding before us. We didn't know what we were witnessing, and speculated that it was stock footage meant to intimidate the Polish people from voting the next morning.

Of course, the reality of what had happened soon became clear: a brutal crackdown on Chinese supporters of democracy. Twenty years later, on the occasion of this anniversary, we should take the opportunity not only to remember the victims of that terrible event, but to assess both the path that China has since followed and our bilateral relationship.

We know well that China has a very long way to go in eradicating human rights abuses. Unlawful and politically motivated imprisonments, ethnic persecution and restrictions on free speech rank highest among the abuses that persist. But that is only part of China's story in the past two decades. Hundreds of millions of Chinese people have also been lifted out of poverty because of economic reforms, and today have a far better quality of life than ever before. Chinese civil society has developed, government transparency has improved and a number of key human rights laws have been passed. Of course, laws aren't worth the paper they are printed on if they are not enforced, but that only highlights the need to develop legal institutions and a professional, independent judiciary that can enforce the laws that have been passed.

All of this paints a mixed picture—but one that is slowly improving. In China's 5,000-year

history, no period has seen more rapid and dramatic change than the last 20 years. The pace of progress may seem glacial by American standards; but in the Chinese context, this is important progress that must be continued. It is also important to recognize that this progress has been made possible through U.S. engagement. By working with the Chinese and encouraging economic and political reform, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, we have been able to ensure that the move toward greater freedom and accountability continues. By bringing China into the WTO and other multilateral institutions, we have bound the Chinese to a rules-based system where the rule of law is the only arbiter.

Looking down the road, we see that the Chinese government has a very long way to go indeed before it has the moral authority that only comes from being of the people, by the people and for the people. But we also cannot lose sight of the road behind us, the progress that has already been made. Any improvement in the quality of life of the Chinese people since 1989 is due in large part to engagement with the American people. If we are to ensure that progress does not stop until every Chinese person is free and the rule of law prevails, we must continue to engage, encourage and hold China accountable.

Mr. POE of Texas. I yield back.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, if the gentleman has yielded back the balance of his time, I will yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 489.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

## RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 55 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

□ 1840

## AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mrs. TAUSCHER) at 6 o'clock and 40 minutes p.m.

## REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 31, LUMBEE RECOGNITION ACT, AND PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1385, THOMASINA E. JORDAN INDIAN TRIBES OF VIRGINIA FEDERAL RECOGNITION ACT OF 2009

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 111-131) on the resolution (H. Res. 490) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 31) to provide for the recognition of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina, and for other purposes, and providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1385) to extend Federal recognition to the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, the Chickahominy Indian Tribe—Eastern Division, the Upper Mattaponi Tribe, the Rappahannock Tribe, Inc., the Monacan Indian Nation, and the Nansemond Indian Tribe, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

## APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO HOUSE COMMISSION ON CONGRESSIONAL MAILING STANDARDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 501(b), and the order of the House of January 6, 2009, the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of the following Members of the House to the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards:

Mr. DANIEL E. LUNGREN, California

Mr. PRICE, Georgia

Mr. MCCARTHY, California

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, proceedings will resume on motions to suspend the rules previously postponed.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

House Resolution 421,

House Joint Resolution 40, and

House Resolution 489, in each case by the yeas and nays.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Remaining electronic votes will be conducted as 5-minute votes.

## RECOGNIZING 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 421, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Mrs. CHRISTENSEN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 421.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 392, nays 1, not voting 40, as follows:

[Roll No. 292]

YEAS—392

Abercrombie	Davis (IL)	Kildee
Ackerman	Davis (KY)	Kilpatrick (MI)
Aderholt	Davis (TN)	Kilroy
Adler (NJ)	Deal (GA)	Kind
Akin	DeFazio	King (IA)
Alexander	DeGette	King (NY)
Altmire	DeLauro	Kingston
Andrews	Dent	Kirk
Arcuri	Diaz-Balart, L.	Kirkpatrick (AZ)
Austria	Diaz-Balart, M.	Kissell
Baca	Dicks	Klein (FL)
Bachmann	Dingell	Kline (MN)
Bachus	Doggett	Kosmas
Baird	Donnelly (IN)	Kratovil
Baldwin	Dreier	Kucinich
Barrow	Driehaus	Lamborn
Bartlett	Duncan	Lance
Barton (TX)	Edwards (MD)	Langevin
Bean	Edwards (TX)	Larsen (WA)
Becerra	Ehlers	Larson (CT)
Berkley	Ellison	Latham
Berman	Ellsworth	LaTourette
Biggert	Emerson	Latta
Bilbray	Eshoo	Lee (CA)
Billakis	Fallin	Lee (NY)
Bishop (GA)	Farr	Levin
Bishop (NY)	Fattah	Lewis (CA)
Bishop (UT)	Filner	Lewis (GA)
Blackburn	Flake	Linder
Blumenauer	Fleming	LoBiondo
Blunt	Forbes	Loeb sack
Boccieri	Fortenberry	Lofgren, Zoe
Boehner	Foster	Lowey
Bonner	Fox	Lucas
Bono Mack	Frank (MA)	Luetkemeyer
Boozman	Frelinghuysen	Lujan
Boren	Fudge	Lummis
Boswell	Gallely	Lungren, Daniel
Boucher	Garrett (NJ)	E.
Boustany	Gerlach	Lynch
Boyd	Giffords	Mack
Brady (PA)	Gingrey (GA)	Maffei
Brady (TX)	Gohmert	Manzullo
Braley (IA)	Gonzalez	Marchant
Bright	Goodlatte	Markey (CO)
Brown (SC)	Gordon (TN)	Markey (MA)
Brown-Waite,	Granger	Marshall
Ginny	Graves	Massa
Buchanan	Grayson	Matheson
Burgess	Green, Al	Matsui
Burton (IN)	Green, Gene	McCarthy (CA)
Butterfield	Grijalva	McCarthy (NY)
Buyer	Guthrie	McCauley
Calvert	Gutierrez	McClintock
Camp	Hall (NY)	McCotter
Campbell	Hall (TX)	McDermott
Cantor	Halvorson	McGovern
Cao	Hare	McHenry
Capito	Harman	McHugh
Capps	Hastings (FL)	McIntyre
Capuano	Hastings (WA)	McKeon
Cardoza	Heinrich	McMorris
Carnahan	Heller	Rodgers
Carney	Hensarling	McNerney
Carson (IN)	Hergert	Meek (FL)
Carter	Herseth Sandlin	Melancon
Cassidy	Higgins	Mica
Castle	Hill	Michaud
Castor (FL)	Himes	Miller (FL)
Chaffetz	Hinchey	Miller (MI)
Chandler	Hinojosa	Miller (NC)
Childers	Hirono	Miller, Gary
Clay	Hodes	Miller, George
Cleaver	Hoekstra	Minnick
Clyburn	Holden	Mitchell
Coffman (CO)	Holt	Mollohan
Cohen	Honda	Moore (KS)
Cole	Hoyer	Moore (WI)
Conaway	Hunter	Moran (KS)
Connolly (VA)	Inglis	Moran (VA)
Cooper	Inslee	Murphy (CT)
Costa	Israel	Murphy (NY)
Costello	Issa	Murphy, Patrick
Courtney	Jackson (IL)	Murphy, Tim
Crenshaw	Jenkins	Murtha
Crowley	Johnson, E. B.	Myrick
Cuellar	Jones	Nadler (NY)
Culberson	Jordan (OH)	Napolitano
Cummings	Kagen	Neal (MA)
Dahlkemper	Kanjorski	Neugebauer
Davis (AL)	Kaptur	Nunes
Davis (CA)	Kennedy	Nye